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Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 049705
ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

DRAFTED BY INR:HHSAUNDERS
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S E C R E T STATE 049705

NODIS
-STADIS FROM SAUNDERS FOR ATHERTON, EILTS, LEWIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS:PEPR US XF

SUBJECT: SADAT MESSAGE TO BEGIN
REF: JERUSALEM 524 (USDEL NO 23)
1. HAVING AGREED WITH YOU THAT ATHERTON SHOULD DEFER DELIVERY OF SADAT'S ORAL MESSAGE TO BEGIN UNTIL YOU HAVE TALKED WITH SADAT, WE WANT TO GIVE YOU OUR STAFF-LEVEL THOUGHTS ON SADAT MESSAGE SO THERE WILL BE TIME FOR THE THREE OF YOU TO REGISTER VIEWS BEFORE WE GO TO THE SECRETARY AND MAKE GUIDANCE FOR ROY'S APPROACH TO SADAT FINAL. LET ME EMPHASIZE THAT THESE ARE OUR SUNDAY THOUGHTS AFTER A BRIEF AND GENERAL EXCHANGE WITH SECRETARY.

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2. WE SEE TWO SETS OF PROBLEMS IN SADAT'S ORAL MESSAGE--SOME PRESENTATIONAL AND SOME SUBSTANTIVE.

3. ON THE PRESENTATIONAL SIDE, THERE ARE SEVERAL POINTS REVOLVING AROUND THE BASIC ONE THAT SADAT'S MESSAGE COULD BE A SIGNIFICANT HELP IN SETTING THE STAGE FOR BEGIN'S VISIT TO WASHINGTON IF COUCHED RIGHT, BUT IN

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PRESENT FORM WOULD WORSEN RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO MEN AND MAKE OUR WORK WITH BEGIN ALL THE MORE DIFFICULT AND PERHAPS EVEN DISTRACT TALKS HERE FROM MAIN SUBSTANTIVE PURPOSE. SPECIFICALLY:

A. IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE IF LANGUAGE COULD BE CHANGED TO BE LESS CONFRONTATIONAL IN PARA 6, IN PARA 4 ("ISRAEL HAS NO RIGHT"), AND IN PARA 8 ("WORSE"). WE WONDER IF SADAT REALLY WANTS TO TALK TO BEGIN THIS WAY.
B. IN PARA 4, IT SEEMS TO US THAT THIS IS A CASE OF SADAT SAYING EITHER TOO MUCH OR NOT ENOUGH. HE SAYS JUST ENOUGH TO CHALLENGE BEGIN PLAN BUT NOT ENOUGH TO ENABLE ATHERTON TO PRESENT A WELL THOUGHT OUT EGYPTIAN COUNTER TO BEGIN PLAN. A GOOD GENERAL STATEMENT MIGHT BE VERY HELPFUL WITH DETAILED COUNTER PROPOSALS GIVEN TO ROY SEPARATELY AS ALREADY DISCUSSED.

4. ON THE SUBSTANTIVE SIDE:

A. JUST AT A TIME ON EVE OF BEGIN VISIT WHEN WE ARE PRESSING ISRAEL TO HONOR COMMITMENTS ON SETTLEMENTS AND 242, IT WILL BE MOST UNHELPFUL FOR SADAT TO RAISE AGAIN THE QUESTION OF SECOND SINAI AGREEMENT EXPIRING IN OCTOBER. WE RECOGNIZE THE DIFFICULTY OF DEALING WITH SADAT ON THIS SUBJECT (CAIRO 6202, PARA 3) BUT
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SECRETARY JOINS US IN FEELING WE NEED TO FIND A WAY OF MOVING SADAT WAY FROM THIS POINT; CERTAINLY IN THIS MESSAGE.
B. IN PARA 3 OF SADAT MESSAGE, WE DO NOT BELIEVE IT USEFUL TO THROW BEGIN'S DECEMBER STATEMENT HERE BACK AT HIM THAT WAS MADE IN CONTEXT OF BEGIN PLAN ON WEST BANK AND GAZAWHICH CONTEMPLATES LEAVING SOVEREIGNTY IN ABEYANCE.
C. RE ROY'S THOUGHT (PARA 2-B, JERUSALEM 524) THAT IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO EXPLAIN TO BEGIN SADAT'S STATEMENT THAT NEGOTIATIONS ARE MOVING IN WRONG DIRECTION, WE BELIEVE ALL OF US UNDERSTAND WHAT SADAT IS SAYING AND ARE INCLINED TO AGREE. IT IS INCREASINGLY APPARENT TO ALL OF US THAT WITHDRAWAL AND WHAT WILL ACTUALLY HAPPEN IN WEST BANK AND GAZA ARE THE KEY ISSUES, WHILE ISRAELIS ARE. TALKING ABOUT RECONVENING POLITICAL COMMITTEE AND AVOIDING PRECISE WORDING IN DEELARATION. INTERPRETING SADAT TO BEGIN ON THIS POINT COULD BE USEFUL BECAUSE IT COULD PROVIDE OPPORTUNITY TO REPEAT POINT THAT PURPOSE OF NEGOTIATIONS ON DECLARATION IS TO PRODUCE DECISIONS, NOT JUST A DECLARATION. WE AGREE WITH ROY THAT A MORE PRECISE STATEMENT BY SADAT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF THERE IS CHANCE

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BEGIN WILL MISUNDERSTAND SADAT'S PRESENT FORMULATIONS.
D. RE PARA 9 OF SADAT MESSAGE, WE ALSO ARE CONCERNED

ABOUT LINKING SINAI AND PALESTINIAN SETTLEMENTS TOO EXPLICITLY, ALTHOUGH WE RECOGNIZE THAT FACT THAT EACH AGREEMENT MIGHT BE IMPLEMENTED OVER 3-5 YEAR PERIOD WOULD GIVE CERTAIN PARALLELISM.

5. SUGGESTED ACTION: NOW THAT ROY HAS ALL OUR COMMENTS, PERHAPS HE COULD SEND US MONDAY A DRAFT OF TALKING POINTS WE WOULD PROPOSE TO USE IN NEXT APPROACH TO SADAT. WE WOULD USE THAT AS BASIS FOR GETTING SECRETARY'S FINAL VIEWS. VANCE

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Message Attributes

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Subject: SADAT MESSAGE TO BEGIN
TAGS: PEPR, PBOR, US, XF, IS, EG, (SADAT, ANWAR), (BEGIN, MENACHEM)
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